

PEACE NEWS

No. 283

NOVEMBER 14, 1941

2d.

"The Stars Look Down"

and see a civilization collapsing because of rotten foundations

I DOUBT whether in the whole course of history there can be found a more flagrant failure of human reason to face realities, the obvious logic of events, than confronts us today.

During the last thirty years the ruling classes all over the world have steadily refused to face the logical consequences of their social, economic, and political policies. As a result civilization entire is rushing headlong toward a doom from which it may be spiritually incapable of retreating.

And there is no excuse, for those classes have had a monopoly of whatever education was to be had. They even determined the education. They put religion in its place and taught the Church its business. They made a bondservant of science and paid it a salary. Life was a medley of men and machines, science and religion, which, rightly mingled, could produce privilege and power, which the clever might capture and hold.

It was all very simple. Develop the machine and out would come riches and power—power of every kind—social, political, international. As that was all there was to it. The machine, in due course, got out of hand. It needed a religion or a philosophy to regulate it, but these things had been swept aside. Only the bogus religions which doped men into servility could get the cash to carry on.

So the machine ran amok. It produced so much stuff that there was real danger mankind might seize it and adopt the very simple plan of satisfying human needs by distributing it. But the people had been too well doped to see so clearly; and, to ensure that nothing so wicked should happen, war became inevitable.

Nature's Revenge

One has only to look out upon the European scene today to see the result. Enough has happened already to teach us that the revenge of Nature is swift and sure, and that the cost of social evil is frightfully high. Ruthless prosperity may have its day, but Nemesis is remorseless.

And because social wrongdoing blunts the mental faculties, deadens the sensibilities, and destroys the power of vision in those who practise it, the doom of Sodom hangs over every civilization which has sacrificed social values in the interest of class power.

Deep down in my soul I know there can be no redemption for our country or our age until there takes place a spiritual awakening, a repentance which issues in a change of principle and spirit in social and international affairs. This war perpetuates in a more vicious form the power politics of the first world war, of Versailles and Ottawa, of Fascism and Nazism. It is carrying us from economic nationalism to economic "continentalism," from imperialism to even more merciless forms of racial domination, from democracy to a wide extension of dictatorial totalitarianism.

The Only Hope

A new social outlook and a new spirit are the only hope of saving us from that terrible fate; and it is because there are no signs of the emergence of these in high places, in the seats of power, that we are being called upon to witness a process of degeneration, new attacks upon the soul of humanity, new damage daily to the social fabric.

We also know that, lacking this awakening, the process of degeneration will continue, and that humanity will be subjected to new tyrannies and new atrocities, until it loses both the power and the will to destroy the machine into whose power it has fallen. Today humanity is in the most vicious of all vicious circles; every day its subservience to the political and military machine which capitalist civilisation has set up, weakens its power of resistance, while the struggle of the ruling classes and

says

WILFRED WELLOCK

Atlantic Charter and all the vague promises of confused and bewildered statesmen. The future is fore-shadowed in these latest statements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill:—

Mr. Roosevelt: "Frightfulness can never bring peace in Europe. It only sows the seeds of hatred which will one day bring a fearful retribution."

Mr. Churchill: "Retribution for these crimes must henceforward take its place among the major purposes of the war."

The spirit expressed in these words found its fulfilment in a declaration made by Stalin on Nov. 6 in a speech at the Moscow celebrations of the 24th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. He said, according to the Daily Herald:

If the Germans want a war of destruction they will certainly get it. If this is Hitler's policy, then the policy of the Red Army is to destroy the Germans to the very last man. (Thunderous applause). We say death to the German invaders. (More cheers).

The BBC version was that Stalin had declared for the extermination of every invader of Russian territory.

If these threats mean what they appear to do, mankind may be on the brink of a disaster from which it will never recover.

With Their Own Petard

The politics of power could have no other ending than the mechanization and dehumanization of man in a struggle for world power between conflicting ideologies. In that conflict the privileged classes, whose unreasonable started the process of democratic decline and human decay, will be ground to powder by the political and military machinery which they erected.

Their conversion now, in the eleventh hour, to the acceptance of the full implications of unfettered democracy, and a public declaration of the fact, made manifest in immediate policy, is the only hope of saving the civilized world from a future too horrible to contemplate.

The final outcome of a process of man-imposed retribution and counter-retribution is beyond our ken, nor can we do more than guess at the possibilities of salvation should that fate overtake us. Is it not time we all, from end to end of Europe, lifted up our heads and cried for mercy, for we have all sinned together?

Even the stars in their courses must look down in pity. Our civilization is collapsing because its foundations are rotten, and so far there is no proof of intention in high places to lay new ones.

Offer To End Fighting?

HINTS have reached the British Government from a variety of sources, says the Daily Mail (Nov. 10) that Hitler is preparing to launch "a grandiose, and even generous, offer to end hostilities." Although the press is busy in the attempt to suggest that the European neutrals are against it, it stands to reason that they would welcome its success. As we have reported, Turkey has gone so far as to offer her services as mediator; while it is acknowledged that the German peace-propaganda is having a pronounced effect upon the Turkish people. Since Turkey now holds the key position, it may go ill with us if the Turkish people are convinced that we are prolonging the war.

COMMENTARY

Edited by "OBSERVER"

FINLAND AND THE WAR

I MPORTANT speeches have been made by Roosevelt and Stalin. The most notable point in Stalin's was the reiteration of his conviction (previously impressed upon Lord Beaverbrook) that the Russo-German war would be decided by tanks, rather than aeroplanes.

Tanks are much more difficult to transport than aeroplanes. I cannot easily imagine any considerable supply of tanks being taken across Iran. So it is not surprising that the announcement of an interest-free loan of £250 millions from USA to Russia coincided with a request to Finland that she should cease war with Russia: obviously in order to secure that the ice-free Murmansk route shall be kept open.

A false report was promptly circulated that the Finnish radio (Nov. 7) had responded that "military operations are drawing to a close as far as our country is concerned." It was repudiated the next day. On Nov. 9 the Finnish radio definitely said that the answer to USA would be "No." But the food-situation in Finland is very grievous; and if USA will undertake to feed the Finns it is possible that they will go slow. But it is unlikely that the British Government will do what Russia is asking and declare war on Finland. That would be too scandalous a somersault. Moreover, Sweden has protested strongly against such a step.

Finland's "Crime"

I AM shocked by the unimaginative attitude of our "progressives" towards Finland, that great little country of exemplary social achievement, which has by a magnificent national effort managed to become and to remain a real social democracy. Low's cartoon in the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 7) representing Finland as composed of Nazi soldiers and Mannerheim was monstrous.

Finland's crime is that she trusts Russia even less than she does Germany. And she has good cause to do so. What has she ever had from Russia, Tsarist or Bolshevik, but unscrupulous aggression and oppression? The fact is, the northern neutrals neither love nor trust Russia. (The same applies to Turkey). It is all very well to sentimentalize over Russia at a safe distance, but the Manchester Guardian has to confess:

The warmest feelings of the Swedes are now reserved for the Norwegians, but they are kindly disposed to the Finns, the British, and even the Germans. Their dislike seems still to be reserved for the Russians.

Peculiar Position

SUPPOSE, then, that there is a stabilization of the Eastern front. In that event, a correspondent to the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 7) bids us prepare "to find ourselves in a very peculiar position."

Hitler has previously asserted that he has no quarrel with England or in fact the United States. To hold down the occupied countries indefinitely would be too great a burden. With Russia out of the way, he may declare himself satisfied with the Ukraine and possibly part of Poland, and in return for trading agreements with the occupied countries may offer to withdraw entirely from them and resume normal relations and the status quo. He is cunning enough to anticipate that these countries would go a long way to obtain relief from present sufferings, particularly the French, to whom, no doubt he would offer the return of their prisoners. War-weary as they all are, it might be difficult for them to refuse such a proposition, and if they pressed us

(Turn to page 2, col. 2)

OUR DUTY TO HEADQUARTERS

ALL over the country the PPU is coming to realize that in the stresses of total war its organization must advance to a new cohesion, a new sense of mutual responsibility, and a readiness to meet more exacting demands than were contemplated two or three years ago.

As the needs grow, new reserves of devotion are discovered in the membership; and the PPU comes nearer to being what it must be: a true community. Headquarters is the State within this miniature of a new society. We do not want too much of the State; but some of it we must have. We may rejoice that our State-officials are devoted, unassuming, and indispensable. The least we can do is to free them from anxiety. Headquarters Fund is touching the first £100: the first of ten. Let us get the other nine as quickly as we can.

Send your donation, plainly marked "Headquarters Fund" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Received since the last list, £25 3s. 8d. Total to date £97 14s. 2d.

The Editor.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement
Office: (Please specify department)

8 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

LETTRES DE CACHET

THE recent judgment of the House of Lords establishes that the power of the Home Secretary "to imprison, untried, without intention of trial, and indefinitely," persons whom he suspects of endangering the safety of the realm is not subject to investigation or review or control by a Court of Law. It is a terrible power to give a fallible man: an altogether inordinate power to give a politician. It breaks completely with the centuries-old tradition of British liberty.

It is defended on the old, familiar ground. It is for the duration of the war, only. But since it is generally accepted that after this war the powers of the Executive will have to be strengthened rather than diminished, the danger to British liberty is very serious indeed. It was difficult enough at the end of the last war to dislodge emergency regulations giving irresponsible power to the Executive; it will be far more difficult to do so at the end of this one.

The legislation which gives the Home Secretary this inordinate power was passed, in a moment of unworthy panic, when the invasion of Britain was feared. Since the Judges have decided that the one safeguarding phrase in the legislation—if the Home Secretary "has reasonable cause to believe"—does not mean what it always has meant in English law, namely that "reasonable cause" is a matter of fact, whose absence or presence must be established before a Court of Law, but in the context merely means "if the Home Secretary believes he has reasonable cause to believe," an amendment to the legislation itself is imperative.

The Times (Nov. 4) makes the surprising comment that it is not Herbert Morrison but Adolf Hitler who has imposed this legislation upon us. If that were really so, what point would there be in continuing to fight him? He has conquered us, and is legislating for us, already. But of course the excuse is baseless. Because Parliament, in a mood of panic produced by Hitler, has passed legislation, it does not cease to be responsible for its acts, or cease to have the power to amend them. It is to be hoped that it will use its power.

There is unfortunately some reason to believe that Mr. Herbert Morrison inclines more than a British Home Secretary should toward the assumption of arbitrary power. Some of his speeches in the House have shown more than a trace of a totalitarian rather than a democratic conception of the State; his failure to see the gravity of the issue in the case of Mr. McGovern was evident; and there is the fact that, as Sir Irving Albery has pointed out, in no less than 100 cases he has rejected the advice of his own advisory committee. In these hundred cases anyhow the protection which the advisory committee was meant to give the subject is reduced to nothing. These hundred men remain "imprisoned, untried, without intention of trial, and indefinitely" on the mere fiat of Mr. Morrison, although a carefully constituted committee headed by a distinguished lawyer, and no less concerned for the safety of the realm than Mr. Morrison, has advised their liberation. No one who believes that this country is defending liberty can be content with such a situation.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

Making the Allies the War-Mongers

to agree we should find ourselves in a very peculiar position.

The correspondent beseeches us to prepare against this "very real danger"—not everybody would so reckon it—but how we are to prepare against it he does not indicate.

Fooled?

BUT the evidence accumulates that the Germans purpose to call a continental peace-conference before the end of the year, "possibly even before the end of this month" (Times, Nov. 8). A Vichy message says that it will be held in Vienna; another message suggests Istanbul. Some of the press comments are curious. The News Chronicle (Nov. 8) says that German objects are two: (1) to unite the peoples of Europe in a common cause with Germany by creating hatred of the "war-mongering" Allies, and (2) to secure a temporary armistice with Britain and Russia which will give the German High Command a few months in which to prepare for a final offensive next year.

How anybody could seriously imagine that the Germans hope for (2) beats me. It seems to be a propaganda twist given to the German peace-plan in order to encourage us in the belief that Germany is cracking. Taken in conjunction with Dr. Goebbels's well-publicized article in Das Reich, it suggests that we are being fooled by German propaganda again. It might suit the Germans very well for us to interpret their European peace-conference as a signal for us to begin attacking Europe more violently than before.

"A Free World"

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's speech to the ILO (Nov. 6) contained some notable statements. "The American people," he said, "have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world." Then he proceeded to explain what he meant. The transition from the abstract and all too familiar statement about the free world to the explanation came by way of the sentence: "The American workman has got to be convinced that the defence of the democracies is his defence." To that task the President addressed himself, in words which (if they have meaning at all) are quite revolutionary.

This war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now, unless we plan now for the better world we aim to build. There must be more abundant life for the masses of the people in all countries. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions the free peoples of the world can furnish employment for every man and woman who seeks a job.

That is the President's answer to the American workman who is not yet convinced that the defence of the democracies is his defence. And he backed it up by quoting from "the Atlantic Charter."

World Socialism!

NOT even the most zealous champions of the Atlantic Charter in Britain have interpreted it in this sense—a charter of complete international socialism. The workers of America and Britain are to be kept in full employment by providing commodities for the impoverished masses of the rest of the world. These impoverished masses cannot pay for them. The only possible mode of exchange is a form of barter in which America and Britain should supply commodities of many times the intrinsic worth of those they receive.

The economic future to which the President has definitely committed himself, and which he says—and he should know—is implied in the Atlantic Charter, is one in which America and Britain are permanently keyed to full production and the necessary surpluses are practically given to the impoverished masses of other nations. The only domestic system on which this can possibly be done is State-socialism.

We need not doubt the President's good faith in the matter. But can he implement his promises? It means a fight to the death with American "big business," which is far more ruthless than our own. And what does Mr. Churchill, the leader of the English Tory Party, think about it?

What Tune?

THERE is no doubt that, if this war is carried on (whether to victory or not) for another two or three years, the USA will be able to call the tune. But will the USA then say what President Roosevelt is saying now?

In pondering this question, so vital to the future of the world, we get a glimpse of the reason why Mr. Wilkie—the chosen champion of "big business"—has suddenly become more eager for war than the President himself. He now attacks the President for his delays. The reason is obvious. He wants to exploit the emotionalism of war to get Labour down and keep it there. The President, on the other hand, wants to convince Labour that this is a war waged by the democracies for permanent full employment at home and international socialism abroad. But is it?

In Occupied France

SOME interesting information has reached me about occupied France—the environs of Paris, to be precise—from an English woman there. When she was allowed to return to her house, after being interned, she found that all her stores had been stolen by the concierge, who threatened to denounce her to the Germans if she complained. That was typical of middle-class French behaviour toward her. She and her few English co-exiles fear the French more than the Germans.

The shortage of food is terrible. Everything is at famine prices and only the rich get decent food. Many of her fellow-internees lost both hair and teeth through malnutrition.

The days pass quickly because so much time is taken with hunting for food, with practically no transport available, while the shops open at extraordinary hours. While she was interned not one of her French friends sent her a line, so terrified were they of compromising themselves. The middle and upper classes have been "disgusting"; but among the working-classes and the little shopkeepers she meets much kindness and consideration.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

but a tribal anarchy of the dark ages, to which Italy would bring some civilization long overdue.

Champion of Freedom

THE death of H. W. Nevins ("Nevvy," as I learned to call him during the last war)—that zealous champion of "nations rightly struggling to be free"—brings home vividly the passing of the old liberalism. Imagine his reaction to two topics in this Peace News. He would have been all for Lord Atkin and the liberties of the subject. And he would have been all against the suggestion that Ethiopia was not fit for independence.

Liberals of his kind always imagined that other countries were like Britain, or just about to be. The thought that the independence of Ethiopia might be another name for a relapse into barbarism would never have been allowed entrance into his mind. National independence and the liberty of the subject: these went together. The existence of a world in which they did not was unpardonable, and therefore not to be believed.

Compliments

CHURCHILL calls Stalin "that great warrior." Stalin calls Churchill "that old war-horse." Churchill calls Hitler "that bloodthirsty guttersnipe." Hitler calls Churchill "that mad drunkard." Churchill calls Stalin "that great guttersnipe"; Stalin calls Churchill "that bloodthirsty war-horse." Hithill calls Staller "that great guttersnipe." Churchill calls Hithill "that mad warrior." Churchill calls Hithill "that gutthirsty blutternipe."

And then the war ends.

Abyssinia

THERE is trouble about Ethiopia. Indignant questions are being asked. Why have we not restored complete sovereignty to Haile Selassie? The answer is that Ethiopia is a savage and backward country into which the Italians were introducing some fundamentals of law and order; and, in order that it shall not lapse back into anarchy, made more murderous by our arming of the "patriotic" chieftains, we have to preserve the Italian legal and administrative structure. We dare not, for our own good name, restore complete independence to Ethiopia, nor full sovereignty to its ex-Emperor.

Whether or not we call it a British protectorate, that is what in fact it has to be, if it is not to be a shambles. I may remind my readers of Bernard Shaw's unpalatable remark, at the beginning of the Italian war against Abyssinia, that it was blind idealism to talk about the integrity of a small nation being threatened. Abyssinia was not a nation

Not Negotiable

I NOTICE that people are still arguing about the old question—Can Britain ever negotiate with Germany?

The main difficulty seems to be that of deciding whether all Germans are the same. Earlier in the war, majority opinion was that there was a marked difference between one kind of German and another. On our right, the larger group, or sheep; on our left, the smaller group, or goats.

Thus, we were not fighting the German people, but only their rulers. This was the position which I, personally, preferred. It simplified the war. All we had to do was to persuade the Germans to overthrow their own government, and then we would march in and give them a nice peace even better than the last one.

BUT this idea has lately lost ground. The German people showed no sign of co-operating. One can only guess the reason.

They may have remembered that all Europe got out of the last British victory was starvation in the midst of cornucopias, and that Hitler, for all his sins, had at least discovered a way of equating financial credit with productive capacity.

Faced, therefore, with the choice between the Nazi frying-pan and the Demo-capitalist fire, they may have decided that a frying-pan was more likely to contain a sausage.

Anyhow, gradually our leading thinkers began to discover that Germans were all the same. Lord Vansittart had provided scholarly data by his historical thesis that the Germans always were and always would be a race of homicidal maniacs and nothing could be done about it.

THIS was unpopular at first. Our people, nourished though they were on blood-soaked thrillers and gangster films, jibbed at the idea of a whole nation of congenital thugs.

But many of our intellectuals jumped at it. The high-brow of the species is more deadly than the low. Nothing can frighten it. It has a tougher stomach and likes its thrillers neat. To minds keyed up to heroic psycho-analytical ventures, there was something irresistible in this picture of 80 million sadists, each generation foredoomed inevitably to an inherited mass-complex.

For years our illuminati had brooded upon the abysmal amorality of their own Unconscious until they had failed to get any further kick out of it and were ready for more horrors. Here was something fruitier than Freud.

As for the anthropologists, they were tickled to death at the discovery of a

whole race of sub-human anthropoids living in an evolutionary cul de sac. They felt like the travellers in Conan Doyle's "Lost Continent," who came upon a race of ape-men still struggling for existence against homo sapiens. It was jollier than Frankenstein.

WHATEVER may be the future consequences of this racial phenomenon, our Brains and Morals Trust has meantime drawn at least one conclusion: We can never negotiate peace with these creatures.

You may ask—What kind of people, if any, can we negotiate with? There is no official opinion on this point, but the suggestion of an Irish M.P., the Rev. Dr. Little, sums up the general feeling. Replying to Cardinal Macrory's statement that now was the time for a negotiated peace, he said:

"A just, righteous peace can only be arranged by upright, right-minded men with a sense of moral rectitude and honour."

HERE we have the first public notice of what appears to be a new diplomatic rule: That Peace Treaties can only be successfully concluded when both parties conform to a specified standard of virtue. This may explain why Versailles went wrong—the morals were all on one side.

You can, of course, negotiate with your moral inferiors on other things. You can negotiate a loan. You can negotiate with an opera company for a Wagner season. You can engage a German professor for a course of lectures, or order a Wiener schnitzel from a German chef without enquiring into their moral philosophy. But you cannot discuss political and economic reconstruction with them. They aren't upright.

OUR monopoly of righteousness leaves us no option but victory and a dictated peace. We have the qualifications; we're only waiting for the weapons. The chief clauses will be those relating to the economic settlement of Europe. By that time the British Empire will be in pawn to the USA; but the task of Continental reorganization can safely be left to the moral rectitude of the upright, right-minded men of honour of Wall Street.

Those guys have sure got what it takes.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
 Dick Sheppard House,
 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

KEEP IT GOING!

By JOHN BARCLAY

FOR ten weeks we have concentrated on area conferences, and during this period have held 13. Three more have still to meet. What of the results?

Everybody who has dabbled in photography knows that the really exciting moment comes when the negative is put into the developing bath. The rightness of our decisions about focus, time-exposure and amount of light will now be judged by the examination of the resulting print. Last week the Development Committee met at Dick Sheppard House to make this examination and to plan future activity accordingly.

As was to be expected, the picture I was able to present to the committee was uneven. In places the outline was obscure, and there were patches where the negative was thin, but, taken as a whole, there were pretty clear indications of growing strength and cause for encouragement.

STEADY INCOME NEEDED

The first glance showed one common feature, and that was the acceptance on all sides of the vital necessity for a steady income based on an individual subscription. THE NOTTINGHAM SCHEME is that which is recommended, and at a later date a full explanation of this method of collection will be given in this column.

Another most helpful and encouraging revelation was that every conference has been followed by the setting up of an active committee, as well as, in most cases, the appointment of an area secretary.

There is now a great opportunity provided for united action. The committee unanimously supported the proposal that all areas should immediately be asked to co-operate in the national campaign for controlled Food Relief. Already groups in many parts of the country are busy on this work, and our literature department is becoming swamped by demands for leaflets and information.

GOOD ATTENDANCES

All the conferences were well attended, an analysis of the results showing that the average attendance was 60 and the average number of groups represented 15. There is only one way to ensure that this enthusiasm is maintained, and that is by the wholehearted support of every individual—Now. Remember that—

1. Every group can now be put in touch with an area committee.
2. However much initiative is shown by Headquarters, it is useless without your co-operation.
3. Money is needed, and the best way is to subscribe regularly.
4. We have only just begun, and enthusiasm and energy will be needed over a long period.
5. Literature covering the food relief campaign is available:—

"Blockade of Europe," 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000, postage extra.
 "That Food Blockade," 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000, postage extra.
 "Britain Backs Food Relief," 6d. per 100, 5s. per 1,000, postage extra.
 "Who Starves? A Discussion on Blockade," 3d., postage 1d.
 "Famine Over Europe," by Roy Walker. Preface by the Bishop of Birmingham, 5s.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Bournemouth.—On November 2 Stuart Morris addressed Bournemouth members at Friends' House on "Peace Possibilities." Approaching the matter from an essentially realistic point of view, he faced the future of air bombing and the blockade, contrasting the possibilities of a sane peace after hostilities had continued to either stalemate or victory with the situation if a peace—an admittedly far from Utopian peace—were negotiated now. The treatment of repugnant conditions and the method of negotiation, were also discussed. "His sane and practical approach to the subject, his force of delivery, not to mention a delightful touch of humour, made a deep impression. It was a pleasure and a privilege to receive his visit."

J.B.

Pacifist Strategy and Service

by WALTER GRIFFITH

INTRODUCING his articles on "The Strategy of Good Will," Roy Walker hopes, he says, to start a tremendous rum-pus. I will obligingly assist him, for though he admits that he will not say anything like the last word on the subject I believe the first word should be devoted to first things and these, it seems to me, he ignores or minimizes.

He wishes to get rid of such words as non-violence, Satyagraha and love, but I cannot help feeling that in doing so he tends to dismiss the qualities for which those words stand. Pacifist method, he says, is our main job, and there are three main spheres of preparation—discipline, organization, and knowledge—for, he assumes, we have good will and determination.

Now in my view pacifists are altogether too prone to assume that they "have good will." So far as my observation goes, frustration, fear, aggressiveness, or lack of faith effectively rule out good will for the majority of us most of the while. We only sometimes act as pacifists (as distinct from war-resisters).

It will be time to talk of the strategy of good will when we actually bring together a handful of people sufficiently integrated and at peace in themselves to be able to act effectively. That is a first essential.

THAT WARM FEELING

It is surely a fundamental error to suppose that the rather vague warm feeling common to most pacifists is good will sufficiently developed for the purpose of continuous, keen, and creative peacemaking. Together with other qualities, it may enable us negatively to meet the challenge of the war machine—but not much more.

The fact is that most of us have a very long way to go before we can put into operation any strategy of good

will comparable in quality with Gandhi's Satyagraha. And the reason is not simply, as Roy Walker seems to think, that we are heedless of discipline, organization, and knowledge but that many of us are frankly not good enough either as human persons or, more specifically, as pacifists. We need to be very humble about this.

To say that we need voluntary discipline is trite but not particularly helpful. Of course we do. But the essential discipline is self-discipline. I know for myself that it is a lifetime struggle to gain this, and that there is a very fair chance of defeat.

If I am to be pacifistically un-aggressive and socially constructive, I must call to my aid every integrating factor that I can both within and without myself. Good will, as opposed to sentimentality, in my case at any rate, greatly depends upon this.

TAIL WAGS DOG

As to organization, well—a little goes a very long way. I believe that what is necessary will spring up quite easily according to the demands of the situation. We do not have to be self-conscious about it. Rather should it be a last consideration than a first; the tail so often tends to wag the dog.

Knowledge of course is most important though I do not think Roy Walker's maps, plans, statistics, and information seem to imply the most important knowledge, that is, of people themselves. The strategy of good will is worse than useless (it is in fact positively mischievous) without a sympathetic knowledge of people.

This comes naturally not only from books and gospels but from contact and experience, and many of us are amazingly limited in contact and often unable in ourselves to profit by experience. Pacifist service offers a most useful sphere of education in this respect.

(To be concluded)

The Language Problem

Letters to the Editor

MR. Hedges's letter seems to me somewhat ill considered and likely to create a wrong impression, especially among non-German-speaking readers.

There is no single "German speaker." The BBC gives twelve transmissions in German daily and has at least six announcers. The news bulletins consist very largely of translations of those given in English and are generally followed by a news talk, the most regular contributors being Lindley Frazer, R. H. Crossman, and Sefton Delmer. The announcers have the necessary incisive speaking voices, and a refugee tells me that though he has sometimes detected signs of a regional dialect, with that possible exception the accents are irreproachable.

The content of German transmissions from London is naturally not what we would desire, but represents on the whole the insular and pusillanimous product of the deep-seated division on propaganda policy, in fact the complete lack of a policy for Europe except "freedom."

There have lately been occasional lapses in taste traceable to the rise in the nation's hold of the bilgewater of Vansittartism, but I hope Mr. Hedges will continue to tune-in, assured that these, like "Black Record," are perpetrated not by Germans at Broadcasting House but by their masters, our representatives and our Foreign Office. I hope he will pick up a BBC rebroadcast of the American speeches to Germany of the pillar of German Liberal Democracy and German language, Thomas Mann.

CATEGORY B

Christians and the War

The Duke of Bedford attributes his "understanding of Hitler" to the Christian nature of his own character and experience, but it seems likely that the real cause is his adequate appreciation of political facts, an appreciation that does not necessarily involve religious beliefs.

Why so many ministers of religion support this war (and every other while running) is because they adhere to patriotic nationalism, an element which ensures uncritical acceptance of falsified history and also of the theory of national unity. If it were true that a wicked personal unity called "Germany" had pounced upon an innocent unsuspecting personal unity called "Britain," there would be nothing un-Christian in adopting violent methods to meet the attack—although non-violent resistance would also accord well with Christian morality.

The basis of the whole trouble is political, not religious, for nationalism arises from the man-made political conditions of the world, a world of nationalist sovereign States, all of which act similarly in similar circumstances.

JOHN NIBB

As one who was privileged to share in the fellowship of the last Anglo-German Friendship Camp on the Rhine, in August 1939, I would like to endorse what Mary A. Taylor wrote regarding the importance of the study of languages.

May I suggest that the formation of German study groups among young pacifists would be a valuable preparation for international service when circumstances again make this possible.

The presence of so many German-speaking refugees offers opportunities as never before for obtaining a sound knowledge of that language. Are we taking advantage of this situation which is unlikely to be permanent?

ROGER PEACH

Leicester.

LAWYERS AND 18B

Two Notable Letters

THE widespread uneasiness over 18B has been notably quickened by the recent judgment of the House of Lords deciding that the Home Secretary is above all legal restraint in his use of the powers conferred by that regulation. It has been morally stiffened by the noble dissenting opinion of Lord Atkin—an opinion which will (if England remains true to herself) become classical.

Lord Maugham took the unusual step of writing a letter to The Times (Nov. 6) in which he criticized Lord Atkin's opinion: in particular his observation that "he had listened to arguments which might have been addressed acceptably to the Court of King's Bench in the time of Charles I." This was, said Lord Maugham "a grave animadversion on the Attorney-General."

Of course, it was nothing of the kind. The counsel for the Crown were compelled to address arguments answering to Lord Atkin's description to the court, because that was precisely the case they were pleading—for an uncontrolled power of the Crown to imprison Englishmen without trial. The pity is that the House of Lords accepted the arguments.

ORIGIN OF 18B

A brilliant letter to The Times (Nov. 7) by Mr. Gerald Gardiner puts the true facts of the whole position. It deserves to be quoted in full:

The original Regulation 18B conferred on the Home Secretary an absolute discretion to detain persons if he was "satisfied" of certain things. On October 31, 1939, upon a motion in the House of Commons to annul the regulation, grave dissatisfaction with this regulation was expressed in the House on the subject on the ground that the regulation left the liberty of the subject to the sole discretion of the Home Secretary. The Government thereupon withdrew the regulations and agreed to amend them to meet this and other objections, and on November 23, 1939, the amended regulations were made, the new Regulation 18B providing that the Home Secretary could only detain if he "has reasonable cause to believe" those things of which previously he had only to be "satisfied."

What is one to think of an Executive whose law officers now argue that the amended regulation means, and must have been intended to mean, precisely the same as the regulation which was withdrawn? It may be presumptuous for an ordinary lawyer to express a view upon the decision of the House of Lords, but as so distinguished a lawyer as Lord Maugham has thought your columns an appropriate place in which to comment upon part of the speech of another member of the tribunal, it may be permissible for a humble member of the Bar to follow his example and to say that in places where lawyers meet the view being yesterday expressed by lawyers of all shades of opinion was one of admiration for, and gratitude to, Lord Atkin for his dissenting speech, the contents of which appear to some ordinary lawyers to be unanswerable.

The political correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 8) confirms Mr. Gardiner's contention. He "could say positively" that some of the members, representing the House, who met Sir John Anderson when the original regulations were withdrawn and redrafted did not think it necessary to discuss the new words: "If the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe."

Why were those words not discussed? Because the members I have mentioned believed, as Lord Atkin does, that the words were used in the sense in which they have generally been understood in the Court—that is, that "reasonable cause" is an objective fact to be proved.

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NEW PAMPHLETS

The Russian Myth, Freedom Press, 3d.

WITHIN its 30 pages this pamphlet analyses the Russian attempt to realize a socialist State. Published in October, it shows the German attack as the logical outcome of Stalin's policy of compromise with non-revolutionary governments.

While the breakdown of this policy is now apparent to all, the author shows how step by step Hitler has out-manoeuvred Stalin from the Baltic to the Black Sea. As each test arose the Russian Government showed itself, unprepared to ally itself with revolutionary forces in Spain, China, France or Germany. This failure, or series of failures, is rooted in bolshevist inability to establish anything other than a repressive totalitarianism.

The sections dealing with the internal organization of Russia are as concise and informative as anything that has yet appeared on this aspect of the subject. Lenin's teaching of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" becomes in practice a dictatorship of the Party inseparable from its bureaucratic and militaristic outlook. In other words, the problem of maintaining a socialist State in a non-socialist world community has not been solved.

Those who treasure illusions about the liberal outlook of the Russian regime will not find this pamphlet pleasant reading. Nevertheless, recent events tend to show that the information which it contains needs a wider public, and the Freedom Press has produced a distinctly worthwhile pamphlet.

H. P. FOWLER.

"A Peace-Aims Declaration" (3d. W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Mdx.) is not what it sounds: another idealistic proclamation of peace-aims unrelated to basic social realities. On the contrary, it is an admirably sober exposure of the emptiness of the Churchill-Roosevelt charter, which, without wasting time on unnecessary detail, goes quickly forward to the real job of positing the fundamentals of a "good society." These it asserts to be: (1) Economic Justice, (2) Liberty, (3) Good Order and Planning, (4) The conditions requisite for the full creative development of the individual. And it invites the co-operation of its readers in the effort to establish how these conditions may be realized and how the elements of contradiction between them may be overcome. It is a thoroughly good piece of work.

In "The National Average: A Study in Social Discipline" (3d. 33 Townsend Drive, St. Albans, Herts) Alex Miller further expounds, on the basis of further practical experience, the system by which a group of people regulate their own personal expenditure to accord with the average spending power of the national community, and return any surplus to the community by making it available for creative social purposes. This is a form of community effort available for those whose circumstances make it difficult for them to abandon their occupations or whose temperaments make them reluctant to face the arduous of full community living. It is a method with great potentialities, for example, for the formation of a genuine social revolutionary movement.

A new and revised edition of Stephen Hobhouse's pamphlet "Christ and our Enemies" is now ready. In the new edition certain changes have been made which bring the profound and well-tried pacifist convictions of the author still more into the open. It may be obtained from FoR or PPU Headquarters (2d. each; 6 for 1s., post paid).

The Fighting Fund is evidently determined to reach its Christmas objective: £3,000. It has taken a gallant leap forward in the past week: £53 19s. 9d. making the total £2,788 19s. 6d.

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The Church and War

WHILE admitting the shortcomings of churchmen, we are, perhaps, too apt to forget what the Church has done in the cause of peace.

An American contributor to *The Sign*, rightly points out that the Popes in the so-called barbaric Middle Ages exercised a powerful, and earnest, if not always successful, influence in the cause. It was with the breakdown of religious unity in Europe that the authority of the Papacy decreased here as in other ways. But, the writer continues, the Popes have never failed to raise their voices and to use whatever power lay at their disposal to induce peace between the nations.

MODERN EXAMPLES

Thus there have been modern examples of Papal efforts at peace. Pius IX sought to prevent the war between France and Prussia. Leo XIII was successful in his mediation between Germany and Spain, though later his efforts to prevent the Spanish-American War were in vain. Again, before the College of Cardinals the same Pope deplored the wretched Boer War and equally the war between the Russians and Japanese.

We need hardly be reminded that the most important of modern Papal peace efforts was that of Benedict XV to bring the World War to a close.

That was on August 1, 1917. The Pope sent an appeal to the leaders of

the belligerents setting forth certain concrete and practical propositions as a basis for an immediate, a just, and a lasting peace. How different the subsequent history of Europe and the world would have been! There would have been no Nazism, but there would have been less Big Business and less blood fortunes.

IMPRACTICAL?

The Pope, it will be remembered, proposed that the moral force of Right could and should be substituted for the material force of arms. He admitted the difficulty of this, but had faith enough to visualize it as possible. He urged the diminution of armaments, the institution of serious and fair arbitration, the freedom of the seas, the mutual condoning of war damages, the restitution of occupied territory subject to plebiscites in the delicate matter of territorial rights.

"Such," the Pope said, "are the principal foundations on which we believe that the future reorganization of the people must be built. They are of a nature to make impossible the return of similar conflicts and to prepare the solution of the economic question which is so important for the material well-being of all the belligerent States."

The appeal was ignored: the Pope was called impractical. How practical were the makers of the Versailles Treaty may be judged by the reader of history!

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WAR—What Then?

The Task Before Us

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NEWS OF C.O.s

ENROLMENT notices for fire-watching only can be served at present upon men who have registered under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1941, and the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors understands that at this stage the Minister is not prepared to extend the Order to other forms of service, but that the matter is still under consideration.

* * *

The C.B.C.O. understands that none of the women who have recently been prosecuted by the Ministry of Labour and National Service for failing to comply with directions to take up work specified by the Ministry professes a conscientious objection to the work in question.

* * *

The Salop County Council, at Shrewsbury on Nov. 1, recorded its disapproval of the action of the Montford Church of England School managers in deciding to retain the services of their headmaster, who was registered as a conscientious objector, especially in view of the county council's attitude in relation to the employment of conscientious objectors, recommending that their services should not be retained.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Abingdon.—Miss Sylvia Tatham, Northcourt House, Abingdon, Berks.

Clapham and Brixton.—P. N. Marks, 30 Matthew Street, S.W.11.

Ipswich.—J. Sherwood, 82 Constable Rd., Ipswich.

Kingston.—Anthony Spawforth, 11a Cranes Park Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.

Manchester.—Walter Webster, 6 Mount Street, Manchester, 2.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—Sydney Potts, 10 Fell-side, Hexham, Northumberland.

Nottingham.—G. Macpherson, Thurland Chambers, Thurland Street, Nottingham. (Please mark "Private.")

LITERATURE &c.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE is the title of a study pamphlet issued by the Industrial and Social Order Council of the Society of Friends on the political implications of the letter from the Christian Churches. It can be obtained from the Friends' Book Centre, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1., price 6d.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

ANARCHISM. Commencing Sunday, Nov. 16, 2.30, Holborn Hall (Room No. 4): a series of public discussions conducted by Frederick Lohr. All welcome; admission free.

BIRMINGHAM. At Friends' Meeting House, Bull St., Nov. 24, 1.20—1.50; address by Gerald Bailey: "Peace Aims."

DEBATE. "Should Socialists support Family Allowances?" Mrs. Eva Hubback (Family Allowances) v. Mr. Seagrave (Socialist Party of G.B.). Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 6.30 p.m., Sun. Nov. 16. Admission free.

OXON-BUCKS Area Conference on Sun. Nov. 23, at Friends' Meeting House, 25 London Rd., High Wycombe, from 2 to 6 p.m. Speaker: John Barclay. All P.P.U. members welcome.

SITUATIONS VACANT

ASSISTANT Chemist wanted for paint Laboratory in the Midlands. Write in confidence to Box 984 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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MISCELLANEOUS

THE CHURCH OF JESUS. Pacifist, modern. Details, stamp, Ronald Mallone, 53 Musgrave Rd., S.E.14.

WARNING. Pacifists and Quakers are warned not to lend money to man giving name of Walter White, carrying C.O. registration card, at present in Shropshire area. Usually asks to borrow money to move to new job.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4., by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co., (T.U.), London, N.16.